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nic unity extending back to the beginning of time. The people set boundaries by such external symbols as a locally specified costume for men and women, a distinctive dialect of Tzeltal, and specialization in the production of pottery. Implicit boundaries are established by socialization processes that inhibit response to the outside world and that define a code of behavior understandable only in its own context. The completely socialized member of the community is not expected to seek recognition, nor could he find prestige, outside these boundaries. The community comprises the moral universe: cooperation and reciprocity are limited to members of the community, as are most cases of homicide and theft. Lacking concrete evidence, people assume misdeeds to have been committed by someone from the community.

The boundaries that separate these Indians from other Indian communities as well as from non-Indian, or *Ladino*,[1] communities are social artifacts that give a sense of security to members of the in-group. They call themselves "the true men" (*b'atz'il winik*), and their world is defined in "the true word" (*b'atz'il k'op*). The latter is their term for the Tzeltal dialect of Maya which is the language of the house and of the street, the courthouse, and the church in the absence of the Spanish-speaking priest. Tzeltal names differ from Spanish names for most of the surrounding towns, the earth, the heavens, and the cosmological bodies. Catholic saints are incorporated under a Tzeltal name or a Tzeltal version of their Spanish name. All of the members of the community have a Tzeltal patronym in addition to the Spanish surname with which they are baptized. The given name is that of a Spanish saint but is shortened and pronounced with Tzeltal phonemes, and female names have the feminine prefix *i*. Their world is labeled in their own language.

The people assume that their expectations will be met and their projec-

1. The term Ladino has a range of usage throughout Middle America. In Mexico City, people define Ladino as any person who abuses his superior skills to take advantage of others. In Oaxaca, a Zapotec Indian defined Ladino as "an Indian who knows Spanish, has adopted western-style clothing, and takes advantage of other Indians because of his knowledge of the language and ways of life of the non-Indian society. He is like a fox." In Chiapas, the term is applied to any non-Indian without derogatory connotation, and the same is true in Guatemala. In the metalanguage of anthropological monographs, it is used in this latter sense.

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tions of self will find a responsive audience only within these linguistic and physical boundaries. The sense of insulation is a denial of regional and national political institutions in which they interact with the other Indians and Ladinos who are part of their present world and share their history. The town itself is a product of the Spanish colonial *congregación*, which drew together diverse Indian populations that had been scattered in small settlements. The outlying barrios are occupied by Indians who have moved out from the center, as well as foreign Indians who had worked in the *fincas*, or large plantations, within the township. These latter people are referred to by a derisive term, *Kurik*, meaning roughly "country hick." Beyond these, and still within the municipal limits, there are a series of *colonias*, settlements populated by Indians who have moved here from other towns and by *mestizos*, or acculturated Indians. These settlers acquired land in the time of Juarez or later in the Cardenas period. Ladino men are called *Kašlan* and women *Šinlan;* foreigners who do not appear to be of the country are called *Alemán*, the Spanish term for German.

The focus of this book is on the lives and thoughts of people living within the center. The people of Tzo'ontahal live in a square world, surrounded by a round universe. From the square hole, cut in the earth at the center post of their square house to receive the sacrifice of a live chicken when the house is built, stretches a square village (it appears as a rectangle on the map, but they draw it as a square).[2] The fields are measured in squares of twenty-five arms' breadths, with five handspans measuring the square between each plant. Within this square world, they have elaborated techniques for dealing with spiritual and human co-residents in curing rituals, offerings for crops, burial practices, and baptism rites. Their present cultural stock reveals a selective absorption of Spanish colonial features along with twentieth-century innovations. They have techniques for planting and harvesting milpa, marketing the pottery manufactured in all the households, curing an eclipse of the moon, divining causes of illness and curing the maladjusted social relations which cause it, manufacturing and

2. This view of the world as square is shared by Tzeltal and Tzotzil neighbors in Larraínzar (Holland 1963:69), San Pedro Chenalhó (Guiteras Holmes 1961:254), and Pinola (Hermitte 1964). The four-direction concept of the village and world noted by Landa (Tozzer 1941:135) suggests a square-space concept.

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Chapter 4

Family Authority and Community Control

All residents of the center consider themselves to be "true men" descended from the ancestors who lived in the cave. In Murdock's terminology (1965:63), the Indian community constitutes a *deme*, or local group of genealogically related residents who cannot trace the exact kinship tie. This sense of kinship sustains a model of paternal authority for assigning positions of power and prestige in the wider community. The key to persistence of the Indians as a culturally distinct population lies in these age-ordered hierarchies sanctioned by the ancestors and the elders who act as their intermediaries. The reward for remaining within the social control system is security and the right to their guardianship; the sanction against violating the norms is exile or exposure to the evil spirits they hold at bay.

The bilateral extension of age-relative collateral terms to all members of the same side of the dual division is a successful adaptation of the kinship model to the government of a compact nucleated community. The system of terminology is similar to that of the neighboring nucleated settlement of Aguacatenango which shares many of the same features of behavior (Hunt n.d., Metzger in Romney 1967:231). These systems are closer to those of the Coatlan Mixe (Merrifield and Hoogshagen 1961) and the Chinantec of Palantla (Merrifield 1959) than they are to the nearby Tzeltal-speaking communities of Cancuc (Guiteras Holmes 1947) and Oxchuk (Villa Rojas 1947). In the case of the Mixe and Chinantec, the strong emphasis on relative age is correlated with age-graded positions in the political-religious hierarchy (Merrifield 1959, Merrifield and Hoogshagen 1961:225).[1] The lineage-clan pattern found in the vacant center, or *paraje*,

1. In the Coatlán, Oaxaca case of Mixe Indians cited by Merrifield and Hoogshagen (1961) they state that the classificatory terms utilizing the criteria of age relative to ego

3. Categories of role-bearers sit and act together in all the domains. In the home the me?eletik, the nakawanehetik, and the b'alnialetik have established seats and act in concert. Similarly in the cabildo, four ranks of officials, the principales, judges, regidores, and police, move and act together. In the church, elder and younger mayordomos move in pairs of two.

4. Sexual segregation is present in the home, the church, and the cabildo, but is lacking in the school. This rejection of the community standard for a group situation was the basis for some parents holding their children out of school until coerced by the federal authorities backed by the local officials.

5. Attendance in all domains involves coercion as well as voluntary action. Coercion is most marked in the school, but resistance by the parents to forced attendance and mixing of the sexes is fast wearing down in this domain. In the cabildo, the defendant is required to attend the court hearing and may even be jailed if he does not pay the fines charged against him. Coercion is covert in the home; the lack of alternative housing arrangements makes residence in the household of orientation or of procreation mandatory.

6. Sacred symbols are present in all the domains. The symbols of the cabildo and of the school relate the community to the nation with the national flags and the portraits of the president. The canes of office which are assumed as each official acquires office are symbols of local authority. The universalistic symbols of the church—the saints images, portraits, and banners—are acquired from Catholic orthodoxy, but have been encapsulated with local sentiments and beliefs. Sacred symbols are treated with respect and avoidance, both in the church and the home. The "holy cross" or banners are touched only with sacred embroidered cloths binding the hands of those who carry them. Saints' images are kissed, but as a mark of respect, not intimacy. The Mexican flag, with which less awe is associated, is saluted.

Each of the domains provides a setting for the recognition and validation of authority figures in the community. Values which are communally shared or imposed from outside are formally instilled in these settings. Ex-

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578 small; you will leave having paid five or ten pesos. You will forgive each other. If the misdeed is large, then you will give twenty-five or thirty pesos as your fine, so that we can give something to him who has been injured by you. We will cure him, so that he gets well, so that he may not die. Then he also will give pardon. But if we do not cure him, if we do not give medicine to the one you have hit, then you will quarrel, then his heart will be angered. Because here we have two kinds of misdeeds. He who is evil will do [754] witchcraft. He who does not know witchcraft will give pardon. But he who is evil if he sends sickness to you, then if you get sick, if you die, it is because you did not obey the commandment.

I say this because I am a principal, I am a father [of the town]. I advise you so that the town will go forth in happiness, and in happiness we will increase in our gatherings in the town. But if you are evil, we will not increase, our children will not grow, because there are evil people, there is sickness, there is death from him who knows witchcraft. He who does not know it uses bullets and will kill you that way. Why? Because you sent sickness. So I speak to you thus. Happy, in peace, do not quarrel. It is better.

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[754] The important aspect of witchcraft as a sanctioning procedure is in relation to the distribution of wealth in the community.

[454] A man can accumulate a certain amount of money as long as he is willing to share it with others and spend it in culturally accepted ways, such as buying cohetes for a fiesta, giving a house party for the Saint in the house altar and inviting many [186] villagers, etc. But he cannot simply save it without being accused of miserliness; spend it all in building too large or too different a house without being accused of being embarrassed of his Indianess (of which he should be proud); nor can he invest in businesses which are not the traditional economic activities of the Indian without the fierce criticism of his fellow villagers. There is, then, a top limit to the accumulation of wealth imposed not only by the environmental and technological factors, but by